

Mr. Stennett

to ascertain the situation of the ancient

CLAUSENTUM,

By

The Rev.^d Rich.^d Warner, of Vicar's Hill, near Symington, Hants. K



Our narrow ken
Reaches too far, when all that we discern,
Is but the harock of wide wasting Time,
Or what he soon shall spoil.

*Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*



TO
JAMES L * * * *, Esq.

..
LINCOLN'S INN, LONDON.

DEAR SIR,

I Little suspected that our ramble, last Spring, in the Neighbourhood of *Southampton*, would have produced a Dissertation on the site of an ancient *Roman* station; or the familiar converse of an evening walk, have terminated in a publication of so many quarto pages. It frequently happens, however, that consequences more important than we are aware of, flow from very trifles:

"*Hæ nugæ seria ducunt—*"

The opinion you expressed, when we were fauntering on the banks of the winding and beautiful River *Itchen*, that no part of the present *Southampton* occupied the site of the ancient *Clausentum*, struck me, at the moment of its being uttered, as a bold suggestion;

J B.

suggestion; since I had imagined all doubt on that head to have been, long since, done away, by the unanimous consent of our ablest topographers, who have united in fixing the *Roman* station to the suburbs of that town.

But as I have, for some time, been persuaded that the charge of credulity and implicit coincidence with the opinions of his predecessors in the same line, falls now and then with justice on the Antiquary; so it has been my constant endeavour to avoid committing the error I condemn, in the little excursions into the amusing field of *British* Antiquities, which the occasional leisure of my profession has permitted me to make, by thinking in some degree for myself, and not receiving the *dicta* of preceding authorities, until they were confirmed by my own investigation, and had the sanction of my own judgment:

“ *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri;*”

a system, the vanity of which may be well excused by its safety.

On this principle then, my dear sir, I have been induced to give your doubts repeated consideration;
and

and the more my attention has been bestowed upon them, the more reason have I discovered to acknowledge their weight.

The researches, indeed, which they stimulated me to make, have fully convinced me, that our Antiquaries assign an erroneous situation to *Clausentum*, when they place it at, or immediately contiguous to *Southampton*; and, after carefully consulting whatever has been written on the subject; comparing these notices with the observations that have occurred to me, on actual inspection; and attending nicely to those local circumstances, which so greatly assist an enquirer in matters of this nature, I will venture to pronounce without hesitation, that *Bittern Farm*, about two miles and an half from *Southampton*, is the spot on which the *Clausentum* of ANTONINUS formerly stood.

What I conceive to be the proofs of this assertion, are contained in the following pages; which I have thrown into chapters, for the sake of order and perspicuity. I submit them to you without apology, in the full assurance that you will deem nothing an unacceptable present which tends to the
illustration

illustration of our *national Antiquities*. Our regard for them is, I believe, nearly equal; and tho' fortune have chalked out to us very different lines to pursue through life, yet, I apprehend, the investigation and preservation of these venerable remains, will form the chief amusement of both, in those hours which are not dedicated to higher duties. Our predilection may be ridiculed by *some*; but the *wise* and *good* will surely give the sanction of their approbation, to pursuits which are, without dispute, innocent in themselves; and which, if properly regulated, have a tendency to inform society, enlighten the mind, and improve the heart—

“ *Anteiqua, sepolta, vetusta,*
 “ *Quai faciunt mores veteresque novosque tenentem,*
 “ *Moltarum veterum legum, divòumque, hominumque*
 “ *Prudentum——*”

Permit me to subscribe myself,

Dear Sir,

With great sincerity,

Yours, &c.

RICHARD WARNER, *Jun.*

VICAR'S HILL,
 Aug. 1, 1792.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. I.

Preliminary Observations—Romans in Britain—Sources of our Information respecting the Roman Geography of Britain—Ptolemy's

Geography—Antoninus's Itinerary—The Notitia Imperii—Anonymous Ravennas—Tabulæ Peutingerianæ—Richard of Cirencester.

C H A P. II.

The Situation of Clausentum, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus—Camden's Etymology of the Name—Reasons for dissenting from the Opinions of Camden,

and other Antiquarians—Reasons for fixing on Bittern-Farm as the ancient Clausentum—Etymology of the Name—Roman Coins found there.

C H A P. III.

Observations respecting Roman Coins—Conjecture respecting the Period when the Station of Clau-

scentum originated—The Conquests of Claudius and Vespasian in Britain.

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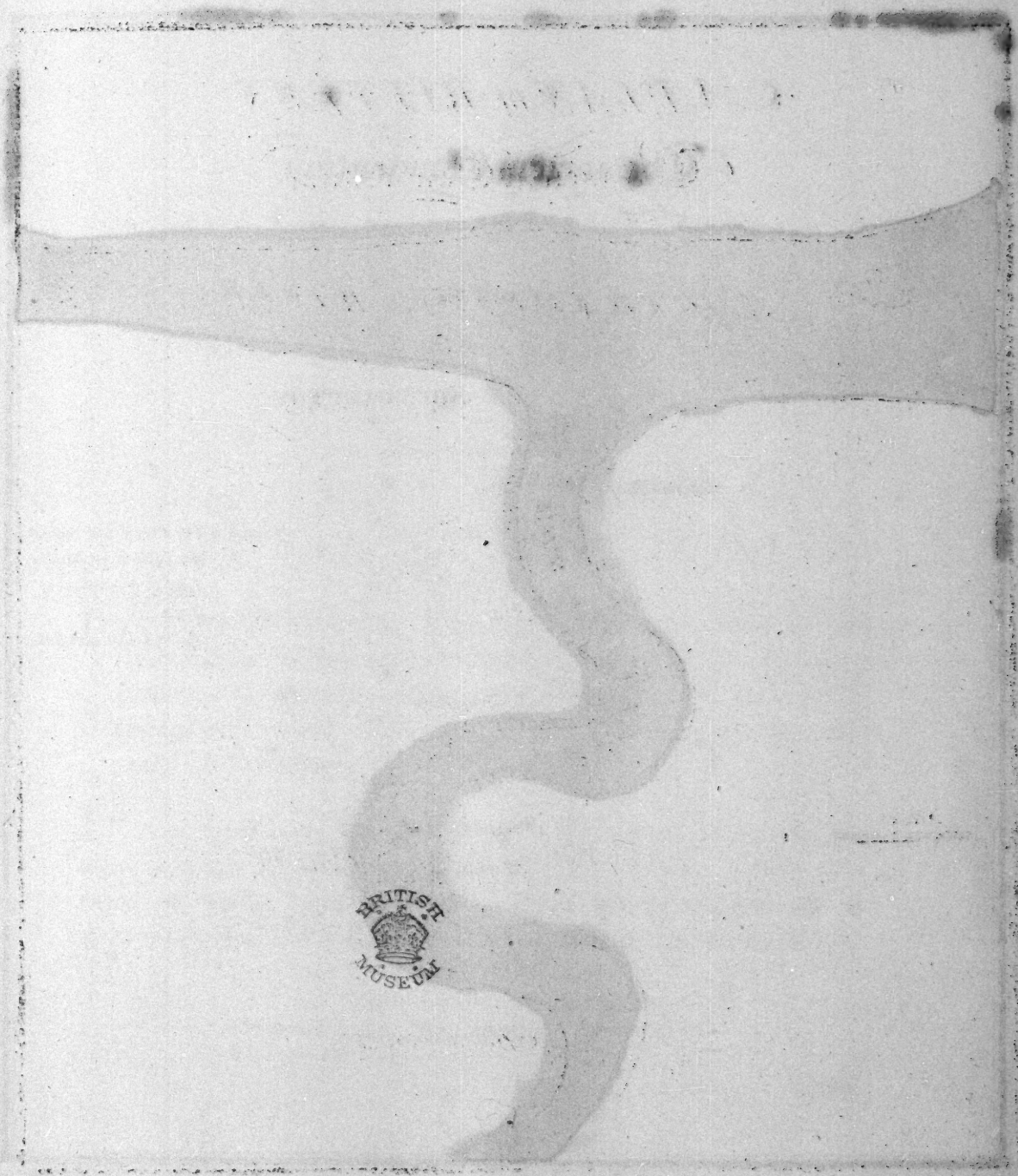
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BRITISH
MUSEUM

A PLAN of BITTERN

The ancient Clausentum



SOUTHAMPTON RIVER

SOUTHAMPTON

Ichen Village

St. Maries

THE

RIVER

Northam

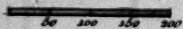
Bittern
Farm

Berous Hill

St. Dionysius Priory

- a a a - The Fosse and Vallum.
- b An Old Stone Building now used as a Barn.
- c An Old Mansion House.

Paces



AN
A T T E M P T
TO ASCERTAIN
THE S I T U A T I O N
OF THE
ANCIENT CLAUSENTUM.

C H A P. I.

Preliminary Observations; Romans in Britain; Sources of our Information respecting the Roman Geography of Britain; Ptolemy's Geography; Antoninus's Itinerary; the Notitia Imperii; Anonymous Ravennas; Tabulæ Peutingerianæ; Richard of Cirencester.

IT is a mortifying consideration to the pride of man, that his most magnificent and elaborate works, which either vanity dictates, or utility enjoins, have all their determined periods of decay, beyond which their duration cannot be extended.—

“ These things have their end ;

“ Churches, and cities, (which have diseases like to men,)

“ Must have like death that we have.”

Some

Some indeed, by the solidity of their fabric, are enabled to resist the attacks of time for a longer term of years than others that are less durable, but even these remain sad and solitary proofs, that man cannot make unto himself a lasting name, by the works of his hands; since their authors are at length forgotten, and their uses buried in oblivion. The *Pyramids* themselves, the most stupendous efforts of human labor which the world ever saw, confirm this solemn truth: the name of the ostentatious architect that reared them, has for ages been lost*; the æra of their erection is now no longer remembered; and even the purposes to which they were originally designed to be applied, are matters of speculation and uncertainty.

These observations naturally result from a retrospection to what the industry of the *Romans* had effected in this Country, during the period of their dominion here; and a survey of the scanty traces of their labors, which are now discoverable even by the most patient and inquisitive eye.

It is not to be doubted, that a people who carried improvement and civilization hand in hand with conquest, and made even the bonds of slavery tolerable, by the comforts which they annexed to them; it is not to be doubted I say, that they would introduce into *Britain*, the various Arts, and modes of life which were in use among the enlightened and refined inhabitants of *Italy*. The excellent TACITUS, indeed, removes all hesitation on this head, when he informs us that a whole winter

* The contradictory accounts of HERODOTUS and DIODORUS, respecting the builders of the *Pyramids*, convince us that we are to expect no certain information from either of them, in this respect.

was

was spent by JULIUS AGRICOLA, in instructing the subjugated *Britons* in the manners of the *Romans*; in leading them from ignorance and barbarism to intelligence and civilization; in imparting useful knowledge to the sons of their princes, and great men; in teaching them to adopt the *Roman* dress; and to erect habitations, and public buildings, on the *Roman* plan*: so that, in the course of half a century after these conquerors had made themselves masters of *Britain*†, the manners and ap-

* Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta; namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent: hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus extruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes; ita honoris æmulatio, pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia *Britannorum* studiis *Galorum* anteferre, ut qui modò linguam *Romanam* abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga; paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. 21.

† I date the conquest of *Britain* from the reign of CLAUDIUS. JULIUS CÆSAR did little more than discover the country; his partial penetration into it, and his battles with one or two tribes of the natives, can never amount to a conquest of it—AUGUSTUS, contented with securing what he possessed, did not attempt to enlarge the limits of the empire by adding the island of *Britain* to it; though HORACE, sacrificing truth to adulation, would fain persuade us that he had completed the design of his predecessor.

Cælo tonantem credidimus JOVEM

Regnare: præfens divus habebitur

AUGUSTUS, dejectis BRITANNIS

Imperio—

Lib. III. Ode V.

TIBERIUS adhered to the maxim of AUGUSTUS; and the vast preparations of the absurd CALIGULA, evaporated in idle folly;—under the auspices of CLAUDIUS, the work was completed:—“Igitur primus omnium *Romanorum* D. JULIUS cum exercitu *Britanniam* ingressus, quanquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio *Britanniæ* etiam in pace. Concilium id divis AUGUSTUS vocabat, TIBERIUS præceptum. Agitasse C. CÆSAREM de intranda *Britannia* satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis pænitentia et ingentes adversus *Germaniam* conatus frustra fuissent. DIVUS CLAUDIUS auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et assumpto in partem rerum VESPASIANO.” Tacit. de Vit. Agric. c. XIII.

pearance of its people were altogether changed ; and castles, porticos, palaces, baths, villas, and theatres, were reared in this country, inferior only to the magnificent models from which they were copied.

But, alas ! if we look round for examples, or even vestiges of this antique masonry, what disappointment and mortification attend our search ! The sentence of decay passed upon all the productions of mortal labor, has been extended to these ; and few are the fragments that remain to testify their original magnitude and splendor : accident alone occasionally brings to light these precious remains of former times ; and even when discoveries of this nature do occur, the pleasure of them is, in a great measure damped, from our ignorance of who were the builders of them ; at what period they were constructed ; or for what purposes they were designed.—

“ High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres ;
 “ Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces ;
 “ Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres ;
 “ Sure gates, sweet gardens, stately galleries ;
 “ Wrought with fair pillars, and fine imageries—
 “ All those (O, pity !) now are turn'd to dust,
 “ And overgrown with black oblivion's rust.”

Spenser's Ruines of Time.

In this general wreck of *Roman Antiquities*, in *Britain*, the courses of their military ways have been lost,—their military stations have perished, and the very situations which they anciently occupied, are become involved in almost inexplicable perplexity †.

Some

† Mr. HORSLEY has a judicious observation at the end of his dissertation on the *Roman Geography of Britain*, which should serve in some degree to lessen the regret we feel in contemplating

Some of them, indeed, the diligence of our Antiquarians have recovered, and ascertained; but far the larger number are either still unsettled, or have been erroneously placed.

The imperfect knowledge, however, of these matters which we do possess, is not derived so much from local notices, or visible remains, as from ancient surveys, illustrative of the *Roman* geography of *Britain*; which, fortunately for the lovers of Antiquities, after having survived the complicated mischiefs occasioned by war and barbarism, have been discovered and given to the world, by the unwearied curiosity and patient labor of certain learned Antiquaries. With a short account of these surveys, we shall conclude the present chapter.

The first of these, in point of antiquity, is *Ptolemy's Geography*. The author of this work, was a native of *Alexandria*, and lived under the Emperors *TRAJAN*, *HADRIAN*, and *ANTONINUS PIUS*. What relates to *Britain*, or *Albion* (as he calls it), is contained

ing the loss of this description of our *Roman* Remains: "Perhaps," says he, "it will be no disagreeable reflexion to consider, while we are searching after *Roman* stations and military ways, how many fine towns, and fruitful fields, now stand in their place, and stop us in our pursuit: the exchange is doubtless very happy; and though it may afford an agreeable pleasure to an inquisitive mind, to view those marks and traces of slavery and subjection to a foreign power; yet it is certainly a more substantial happiness to feel ourselves a free People, and to find our Country in most parts a pleasant garden, instead of a series of *Roman* garrisons"—[*Horsley's Britan. Romana*, b. III. p. 355.] The *Stations* of the *Romans* here, of which *Claesentum* was one, were castles, or forts, in which the soldiers were lodged, for the purposes of keeping the conquered country in awe, and repelling the attacks of enemies. *VEGETIUS* calls them *Castella*: "Hæc Castella sæpe structa instar oppidorum et in finibus imperii, et ubi porteturæ stationes et pretenturæ contra hostem."—[*Veget. lib. I. c. 22.*] On this subject, the curious reader may find more information, in *Stephens's "Notæ ad Polybii Castra,"* at the end of his edition of *Hygynus and Polybius*—*Amsterdam*, 1660.

in

in the third Chapter*; but the various mistakes of it, occasioned perhaps by the inaccuracy of transcribers, greatly abridge its value and uses. With respect to his latitudes, and the situation of *Scotland*, PTOLEMY is extremely erroneous: the former are too great; and the latter is turned to the East—a mistake which STRABO, and other geographers, ancient and modern, have fallen into. This error in the map of *Britain* has not been rectified in any of the general editions of his work; though MERCATOR (one of his editors) corrected several more trifling ones. HORSLEY has prefixed this map of MERCATOR'S to a dissertation on *Ptolemy's Geography*, introduced in that valuable work, the *Britannia Romana*; and added to it another, corrected according to his own ideas, which doubtless may be of vast use in assisting us to ascertain the situations of the places mentioned by this ancient geographer: a striking singularity in him is, the mode of distinguishing the parts of a degree; which is by numerals, making the denomination of fractions, whose integer is a degree†.

But for our knowledge of the *Roman geography of Britain*, we are infinitely more indebted to the *Itinerary* of ANTONINUS,

* The title of which is ΑΛΟΥΙΩΝΟΣ ΝΗΣΟΣ ΒΕΛΓΑΡΑΝΤΩΣ ΝΗΣΟΣ—"The Position of the island *Albion*." The first part of it contains an enumeration of the different promontories, rivers, estuaries, bays, &c. on the coast of *Great Britain*; beginning with the south-western part of *Scotland*, and going to the northernmost point—i. e. from the peninsula *Novantum*, or *Dunskay*, to *Tarvidum*, or *Farohead*; it then takes a view of the western coast of *England*, from *Novantum* to *Ocrinum*, or the *Lizard-point*, in *Cornwall*.—Continuing along the south coast, we are conducted from *Ocrinum* to the promontory *Cantium*, or the *North-Foreland*. The south-eastern coast is next surveyed, from *Tarvidum* aforesaid to the promontory *Cantium*. The various nations which inhabited the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, are there enumerated; together with the cities and towns in the districts belonging to each; the longitude and latitude of every place mentioned in this geographical survey, are also given.

† Vide *Horsley's Brit. Rom.* b. III. c. i. p. 355; *Gough's Roman Geography of Britain*, prefixed to his *Anecdotes of Brit. Topog.* p. 2; and the Introduction prefixed to *Hutchins's Hist. of Dorsetshire*, p. 18.

than

than either to PTOLEMY's work, or any other ancient one of a similar nature. It received its name from the Emperor ANTONINUS CARACALLA; by whom, or, at least, under whose direction and government, it was, most probably, composed.—An argument adduced by HORSLEY, seems to warrant this assertion: "CARACALLA," says he, "was some years in *Britain* himself, and seems to have had the best opportunity of any of the *Roman* emperors of knowing this island. The limits that are settled in the *Itinerary*, suit better the reign of CARACALLA, and the peace made by him, than that of ANTONINUS PIUS;—for this latter, built the *Roman* wall, in *Scotland*, and yet we have no stations mentioned, in the *Itinerary*, which are within forty miles of that wall. The wall that was built by SEVERUS, father of CARACALLA, is in the north of *England*; and there are not above two or three stations in the *Itinerary* advanced beyond this wall; and these too at no great distance from it †."

The *Iters*, or journeys, contained in this *Itinerary*, consist of fifteen; which comprise a list, or account, of the several stations situated on the *Roman* military ways, with their respective distances one from the other. It was, probably, formed to regulate the marches of the soldiers. These routes are not always direct; but sometimes make a great curve, or circuit — a judicious plan; as, by these means, a larger tract of country was overawed, and kept quiet, than could have been, had the roads been formed in lines directly strait.

It is not to be wondered at, that some corruptions appear in this valuable remain, or certain difficulties in the adjustment of

† An Essay on *Antoninus's Itinerary of Britain*, in his *Britannia Romana*, b. III. c. ii. p. 379.

modern distances, to what we suppose to have been ancient stations. Frequent transcription, and remote antiquity, render it rather surprising that they should not be more abundant.— With all its imperfections, however, it is a great treasure to the Antiquarian; and has, as Mr. HORSLEY observes, afforded more discoveries of the names of *Roman* places in *Britain*, than all other authors put together †.

The *Notitia Imperii*, according to the opinion of PANCIROLLUS (the editor of it), was compiled about the year 445; the latter end of the reign of THEODOSIUS the younger; and contains a list of the civil and military officers, and magistrates, both in the eastern and western empires. The author of this work is unknown; perhaps indeed it was not compiled by one hand, or at one time. PANCIROLLUS's reasons for fixing its date to the above-mentioned time, are as follow: "I am of opinion," says he, "that the *Notitia* was written towards the end of the reign of THEODOSIUS the younger; for, under the governor of *Egypt*, he mentions the *ala Theodosiana* lately established—that is, in his reign. He also mentions the *Limes Saxonicus per Britanniam*; which name begun to be used in the year 400, when the Saxons invaded *Britain*. He makes no mention of the *Vicarius Illyrici*; because that country was wasted by the Huns, in the year 445, under the same THEODOSIUS and VALENTINIAN the Third. The very words mentioned in the title*, shew that it was written after the year 453; when, according to CASSIODORUS, and MARCELLINUS, *Concordia* and *Aquileia*,

† *Horsley's Brit. Rom.* b. III. p. 380; *Talbot's Annot. in Antonini Itin. apud Lelandi, Itin.* v. III. p. 145; *Gough's Roman Geography of Brit.* prefixed to his *Topog.* p. 3.

* The title runs thus:—" *Notitia utraque dignitatum cum orientis tum occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora*—"

" were

“ were destroyed by ATTILA ; because it mentions the buildings
 “ of the one, and the treasures of the other, and the money
 “ coined there †.”

The *Chorography of Britain*, by the *Anonymous Ravennas*, is another work which throws some little light on the *Roman geography of Britain* ; since, notwithstanding the barbarity of most of its names, it has preserved to us some places which do not occur in any other author. This work is ascribed by Mr. SALMON, to GALLIO of *Ravennah*, the last *Roman* commander of *Britain* ; tho’ Dr. STUKELEY rather imagines it to have been the production of a person styled RAVENNAS, from the place of his birth. The period of its compilation, is alike uncertain. There is little appearance of order in the work : rivers, people, towns, and stations, being strangely confounded with each other ;—an obscurity which is relieved every now and then, by a ray of light, that enables us to trace some faint resemblance between a few names in this author and in the works of preceding geographers ‡.

Peutinger’s Table, or (as it is commonly called, in the plural number) *Tabulæ Peutingerianæ*, received its appellation from CONRADE PEUTINGER ; in whose library it was found. It was given to the world by JOHN MORET, in 1598. Certain internal marks have occasioned the conjecture, that it was made about the time of THEODOSIUS the Great.

The original consisted of skins of parchment, forming a volume, or roll, of one foot in breadth, and twenty-two feet in

† *Horsley’s Brit. Rom.* b. III. c. iii. p. 473.

‡ *Horsley, ut supra*, p. 389.

length.

length. Its design seems to have been, to express the several *Roman* stations and towns, with their distances from each other; the courses of their military ways; the nature of the several counties; and their rivers, mountains, &c. throughout the whole empire. The *West*, which occupied the lower end of the table, having been the outermost part of the roll, is worn out; by which accident, *France, Spain, Africa*, and part of *Britain*, are lost—What remains, however, of the last, by its agreement with *Antoninus's Itinerary*, serves to confirm and illustrate that ancient survey †.

Richard of Cirencester de situ Britanniae, is a valuable work, accompanied with an useful map, and contains a clear account of *Britannia Romana*: its author was a monk of *Westminster*, who died about 1400. The same error occurs in the map which is to be found in *STRABO, PTOLEMY, MERCATOR, and ORTELIUS*: that of the *Northern* part of *Britain* being turned to the *East*. But, setting aside this imperfection, its uses are very important; as it fixes the *Roman* towns and stations by those indelible marks of nature—mountains, rivers, bays, and promontories; which, being liable to little variation, continue for ages to ascertain the situation of any thing placed upon, or near, them*.

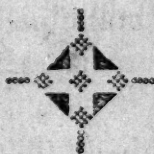
It is from the works above enumerated, which have been successively developed by the labors of the learned, that we derive our chief information respecting the geography of the *Romans* in *Britain*. After all the industry, however, of the several commentators who have busied themselves in the illu-

† Gough, and Horsley, *ut supra*.

* Stukeley's *Itin. Curiosum*; Introduction to *Hutchins's Dorsetshire*; *ut supra*.

strations.

strations of these ancient surveys, much remains to be done, and much to be *altered* of what is already done. Of the latter, the station we propose to examine in the next chapter, will prove to be an instance.





C H A P. II.

The Situation of Clausentum, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus; Camden's Etymology of the Name; Reasons for dissenting from the Opinions of Camden, and other Antiquarians; Reasons for fixing on Bittern-Farm as the ancient Clausentum; Etymology of the Name; Roman Coins found there.

THE mention made of *Clausentum* in the *Itinerary* of ANTONINUS, occurs in his 7th Iter; where it stands thus:

7. ITER A REGNO LONDONIO MILLIA PLUS MINUS XCVI. SIC*.

CLAUSENTUM M. P. M. XX.

VENTA BELGARUM M. P. M. X.

GALLENA ATREBATUM M. P. M. XXII.

PONTIBUS M. P. M. XXII.

LONDINIO M. P. M. XXII.

Or, according to HORSLEY †—

Iter 7. A REGNO LONDINIUM M. P. XCVI.

CLAUSENTO M. P. XX.

VENTA BELGARUM M. P. X.

* *Talbot's Copy Leland's Itin.* v. III. p. 139.

† *Britannia Romana*, p. 381.

CALLEVA ATREBATUS M. P. XXII.

PONTIBUS M. P. XXII.

LONDINIO M. P. XXII.

Or, according to SURITA *—

ITER A REGNO LONDINIUM M. P. XCVI. SIC.

CLAUSENTUM M. P. XX.

VENTAM BELGARUM M. P. X.

CALLEVAM ATREBATUS M. P. XXII.

PONTES M. P. XXII.

LONDINIUM M. P. XXII.

I shall not here enquire whether the *Regnum*, from whence this *Iter* takes its origin, stood (as is generally supposed) on the site of the present *Ringwood*, or whether (according to HORSLEY's conjecture) it occupied the spot on which *Chichester* now stands ‡, but proceed to the main design of this dissertation—an investigation into the Site of *Claesentum*.

Mr. CAMDEN, who, perhaps, indulges rather too much in etymological conjecture, places this station in the suburbs of the present *Southampton*, and derives its name from the circumstances of its situation.—“*Claesentum*,” says he, “signifies, in “*British*, the port *Entum*; for I have learnt that *Claudh* implies the same among the *Britons* that *χυτος λιμνη* did amongst the Greeks—that is, a haven made by the casting up of banks†.

* *Surita's* was the 6th edition, and printed in 1606, 8vo.

‡ *Britan. Rom.* p. 441.

† *Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit.* v. I. p. 136.

In this supposition CAMDEN has been followed by all subsequent Antiquarians; and, amongst the rest, by the judicious HORSLEY, who concurs in fixing *Clausentum* at *Old Southampton* *.

There are certain reasons, however, which may induce us to dissent from the opinion of these learned men. We will enumerate them, and then offer a few observations, to shew the probability of *Bittern-Farm* occupying the site of this old station.

In the first place, it does not seem that much attention ought to be paid to Mr. CAMDEN's etymology of the name of *Clausentum*; since it is far from being supported on a good foundation. For as, by his own account, this station stood upon the *Itchen*, it would, unquestionably, have been named after that river, instead of the *Anton*, had this local circumstance given it any part of its appellation. Besides, had it been situated so near to the sea as *Southampton* is, would it not have been numbered among the stations which were placed under the jurisdiction of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*—the governor who was appointed to guard the coasts which lay opposite to France †?—No notice, however, of *Clausentum* occurs in the fifty-second chapter of the *Notitia*, which details the various places and officers under the control of the Count

* Vide an Essay on *Antonine's Itin. of Brit.*—*Brit. Rom.* b. III. c. ii. p. 441.

† Previous to the departure of the *Romans* from *Britain*, the Saxons, and other barbarous tribes from the Continent, made occasional descents on this country. One of the last acts of the *Romans* was to build a number of forts along the southern and eastern coasts to repel the invaders, and protect the maritime country:—"In littore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, quo naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbaricæ feræ bestię timebantur, Turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant." Vide *Gildas apud Galii Scriptores*, c. 14.

of the *Saxon* shore †. Add to this, no trace of *Roman* architecture, no inscriptions, nor even coins, have been found at *Southampton*—(a strong negative proof that it was never known to the *Romans*;) a proof which is confirmed by the distance between *Clausentum* and *Venta Belgarum* (or *Winchester*), as given us by the *Itinerary*, which can never, by any mode of computation, be made to agree with the thirteen miles we at present reckon from the one place to the other.

On the other hand, if we suppose *Bittern-Farm* to have been the place pointed out in the *Itinerary* under the name *Clausentum*, all the difficulties just mentioned vanish in a moment. Its situation is such as *Roman* prudence might be supposed to have pitched upon for a military station *. Numerous traces still remain of *Roman* labor. Its distances from *Winchester* and *Ringwood* agree exactly with the mensuration of *ANTONINE*. Remains of military ways pointing directly to it, are still to be met with; and many *Roman* coins have been, at various times, discovered on the spot.

But we will be more particular on each of these heads: and, in the first place, consider the Situation of *Bittern*.

The river *Itchen* discharges itself into the *Trisanton*, or (as it is now called) *Southampton* Water, about eight miles from its mouth; after having observed, from its source, a direction

† Vide *Horsley's Brit. Rom.* b. III. c. iii. p. 476.

* A copious stream of water always weighed with the *Romans*, in the choice of their ground for camps and stations:—"Cæterum quocunque latere flumen sive fontem habere debet in qualicumque positione." *Hyginus edit. Stephani Hygin. et Poleb. Amsterdam, 1660.*

nearly

nearly south-west. Its waters meander, in a very agreeable manner, for several miles, before it enters this estuary; forming many beautiful picturesque sweeps, and various peninsulas, or juttings of the land. In one of these capricious windings, three miles before it loses itself in the *Trisanton*, a singular peninsula is formed, about half a mile in circumference, now denominated *Bittern-Farm*. Here, then, I conceive the ancient *Clausentum* to have been placed; and perhaps we cannot pitch upon a spot better calculated for the purposes of a military station. Indeed, I am inclined to look for the very origin of the name itself (if I may be allowed to sport for a moment in the wilds of etymological conjecture) in this peculiar situation. From the various windings of the *Itchen*, *Bittern*, though so near its mouth, has the appearance of being perfectly *land-locked*. The *Romans*, as well as almost all other nations, frequently bestowed on places, appellations derived from some of those local circumstances, which distinguish so universally one spot from another. The singularity of *Bittern-Point* would offer an obvious one:—*Clausus* “shut up” and *intus* “within” (or, in other words, “*land-locked*”) give us a precise idea of the situation and appearance of this peninsula.—Familiar use would soon introduce the contraction “*Claus-int*,” or “*Claus-ent*,” and the frequent *Roman* termination “*um*” being added, affords us, without any fantastic or strained etymology, the perfect name *Clausentum*.

We can plainly trace the vestiges of *Roman* labor at *Bittern*. A fosse which divides the point whereon the *Castellum* stood, from the main land, and part of a *vallum*, which in its original state, before it was depressed by time and weather, must have been of great magnitude, appear to me to have been formed by that people. Fragments of *Roman* Bricks are still visible
among

among the rubbish of a decayed wall, on the eastern side ; and in a search which I myself made, a few weeks ago, I discovered one, almost perfect, with the initial of the maker's name in the centre (I), and ornamented with several little channellings, running in diagonal directions. Let it be recollected, also, that both CAMDEN† and STUKELEY* speak of the remains of a *Roman* castle, on this spot ; a ruin that was doubtless, originally, the *Castellum* of *Clausentum* ‡.

Inclosures, and agriculture, which overturn such ancient ways and earth-works as lie within the reach of cultivation, have destroyed almost all traces of the military roads which led from *Regnum*, and *Venta Belgarum*, to the place in question ; but the distances between these respective places tally so nicely with those mentioned in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, as to afford another very strong argument in favor of the fact I wish to establish.

The discovery of *Roman* coins, in any particular place, is generally esteemed a proof of the presence of that people at the spot. A long series of them has been, at different times, dug up at *Bittern* ; among which appear those of CLAUDIUS, NERO, VESPASIAN, SABINUS ||, ANTONINUS, COMMODUS, LUCIL-

† *Camden's Brit. Edit. Gib. v. I. p. 136.*

* *Stukeley's Itin. Curiosum, p. 185.*

‡ CAMDEN could not have mistaken the old barn and farm-house for examples of *Roman* architecture ; since they are, evidently, not more ancient than the 14th century.

|| SABINUS was the brother of the emperor VESPASIAN, and acquired some fame, in *Britain*, by his services under AULUS PLAUTIUS, the general of CLAUDIUS in that country. Vide *Dion Cassius*, lib. LX. p. 677.

LA §, ALEXANDER SEVERUS, CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS, CARAUSIUS †, AURELIANUS, VALENTINIANUS, and VALENS. — Three coins, found at this place about five years ago, are now in my possession: two of the emperor CLAUDIUS, and one of the emperor COMMODUS; and I have seen four others of SEVERUS, CONSTANS, AURELIAN, and VALENS.

Such are the arguments I have to offer in support of my assertion, that *Claesentum* stood on the peninsula which is now called *Bittern-Farm*. Certain it is, from the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, there was a station of this name *somewhere* in the neighbourhood of *Southampton*; and as no other place thereabouts, except *Bittern*, produces marks of *Roman* antiquity, we may, without hesitation, fix *Claesentum* there.

* LUCILLA was the infamous sister of the infamous COMMODUS, the wife of CLAUDIUS POMPEIANUS. Being a woman of an high, vindictive, and proud spirit, and jealous of the reigning empress, she hired a murderer to dispatch her brother. — The plot was, however, discovered; and LUCILLA was first banished and afterwards put to death. *Hist. Aug.* p. 46.

† CARAUSIUS, a *Menapian* by birth, who assumed the purple in *Britain*, in the joint reign of DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN. For seven years he exercised the most uncontrolled dominion over his acquisitions; this island; and the city of *Gessoriacum*, or *Bullogne*. His fleets, which maintained the empire of the *German* ocean, the *Mediterranean*, and the *British* seas, attest his naval power; while the number and beauty of his coins, which are still in being, speak the riches and taste of the usurper. It was deemed adviseable, by the reigning emperors, to resign to him the sovereignty of *Britain*; which they did, in the year A. D. 289. This legal dominion he enjoyed only four years: the treacherous hand of ALECTUS murdered him in 294. — Vide *Dr. Stukely's History of Carausius*.

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C H A P. III.

Conjecture as to the Period when the Station of Clausentum originated; Observations respecting Roman Coins; the Conquests of Claudius, and Vespasian, in Britain.

HAVING ascertained the Locality of *Clausentum* in the last chapter, the remaining one will be dedicated to the enquiry when it became a Station.

Now, there are Three periods in the *Roman-British* history, from each of which we may date its origin.

The First is, the æra of CLAUDIUS's conquest of this part of *Britain*; when, it is likely, he might form a variety of stations, or fortresses, throughout the conquered country, to guard and over-awe his recent acquisitions.

Secondly; the period when CARAUSIUS was made admiral of *Britain*, to repel the invasions of the *Franks*, and *Saxons*; who about that time first began to infest our coasts. It was then that several forts were erected near the sea shore, to receive troops who were to assist and second the operations of the maritime forces.

Thirdly;

Thirdly; the time of the departure of the *Romans* from this country; when, finding it necessary to collect all their strength, to protect the heart of the empire from the attempts of the Barbarians, they withdrew their forces from hence; after having built several castles near the shores, that they might not leave the *Britains* quite defenceless*.

I am inclined, however, to adopt the period first-mentioned, for the origin of *Clausentum*; and to allow it an antiquity as high as the reign of CLAUDIUS.

The coins, indeed, which have been discovered here, and are enumerated in the last chapter, afford some foundation for this hypothesis: for, although they embrace almost the whole term of the *Roman* dominion here, which commenced with CLAUDIUS, A. D. 43, and terminated with HONORIUS, A. D. 409, yet a circumstance observable in the *earlier ones*, renders it probable they must have been deposited in the earth nearly as soon as they were coined.—This circumstance is, their *extreme freshness*, and *unmutilated appearance*; which afford a strong proof that they had not, when first buried, long endured the friction of continual circulation. With respect to the discovery of the *later coins*, at the same place, there will be no difficulty in accounting for that. As long as the *Romans* remained in this kingdom, so long *Bittern* continued to be one of their stations; and the coins found there of the various emperors and generals who flourished during this series of years, might be either acci-

* It was the last legion that ever visited this country, sent at the earnest prayers of the deserted *Britains*, which completed this friendly work. Vide *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. lib. I. c. xii. p. 53, 54.—Edit. *Wheloc, Cantab.*

dentially

dentally lost, or designedly hidden, at various times, by the soldiers, or other inhabitants of the place.

It must be confessed, however, that the argument for the existence of *Clausentum* in the early time of the *Romans* here, drawn from the coins found at *Bittern*, may, in some measure, be weakened, if a circumstance mentioned by the *Saxon Chronicle* to have taken place at the final departure of the *Romans* from this country, be received as a fact:—He tells us, that these people, in the year of our Lord 418, collected together all their treasures, part of which they *concealed in the earth*, and carried the rest into *Gaul* *. Now if credit be given to this report, I say, the whole series of coins discovered here (which have been extremely numerous) may be supposed to have been part of the treasures secreted at that time, and therefore no proof of the antiquity of this station beyond the period of their secretion.

But, I confess, I cannot readily give credit to the story; since there is no apparent reason why the *Romans* should adopt so singular a conduct.

Their desertion of *England* was not a precipitate and tumultuary retreat; the confusion of which might have obliged them to conceal treasures that could not conveniently be carried away; but an act of deliberation, which would allow them full

* "Ann. ccccxviii. Hoc anno, *Romani* coacerverunt omnes qui essent in *Britannia* auri thesauros, ac partim in terram occultabant, ubi postea nullus reperire posset, partim in *Galliam* secum asportarunt." *Sax. Chron. edit. Gibson*, p. 10. l. V. The elegant and paraphrastic latinity of this translation, gives but a poor idea of the plain simplicity and concise energy of the *Saxon* original.

leisure to settle all their concerns in *Britain*, and to transport their valuable property to the Continent. Neither can we suppose, that they would deposit their money in the earth, with a view of using it at any future period; since their departure was attended with all the formalities of a last farewell; which fully evinced, they had no thoughts of a return to *Britain*. Besides, as they were called to the Continent for the express purpose of assisting in the support of *Rome's* tottering empire, they would scarcely have left in the deserted country, their Money—the very sinews of war, which might so materially benefit the cause they were going to defend. It is to be observed, too, that the earliest *British* writers, who lived at no great distance from the relinquishment of this country by the *Romans*; such as GILDAS, BEDE, and NENNIUS; afford not the least hint of any circumstance of the kind: neither does the report appear, till the time of the *Saxon Chronicler*, who certainly lived much posterior to either of these venerable authors; from whence a strong presumption arises, that no such fact had ever taken place.

Curiosity, however, may here enquire, that allowing the above account to be false, whence does it happen such large quantities of *Roman* coins have been discovered together in the same spot, not only at *Bittern*, but at various other places in the kingdom?

I confess, I am inclined to account for the circumstance, on the supposition, that it was a customary mode of keeping money in the *Roman* times, to hoard it in the earth. HORACE seems to hint at this usual secretion of treasure, in the following lines:

Quid

Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
Furtim defossâ timidum deponere terrâ*?

And the servant in the gospel who did not trade with the talent entrusted to him, went and *digged in the earth*, and hid his lord's money †.

Among the Military, indeed (the only description of people probably that resided at *Clausentum*), it seems likely, this method would be generally pursued:—for, as the *Roman* forces were paid in Copper Money ‡, a service of any duration would occasion such an accumulation of this ponderous coin, as could not be carried about by the soldier, with any convenience, in the numerous excursive marches his profession would necessarily occasion him to make. The surest mode, therefore, of securing his treasure until he returned to his garrison, or station, would be to deposit it in a spot known only to himself: but, as it frequently happened, these veterans died before they had an opportunity of revisiting their hoards, the knowledge of them would necessarily be lost with their owners, and they would continue to lie hidden in the places where they were originally deposited, until accident, or curiosity, again brought them to light.

* *Hor. Sat. lib. I. l. i.*

† *Matthew, c. xxv. v. 18.*

‡ Called, therefore, *Æs Militare*. Vide *Stephens's edit. of Hyginus and Polybius in Cap. de Stipendio Militari*, p. 200. edit. *Amsterdam*, 1660.

The concurring testimony of ancient authors, both *Roman* and *British*, assures us, the *Roman* arms first began to make a rapid progress in this country, during the reign of *CLAUDIUS*. Though the emperor commanded for a time in person, yet the greatest conquests were acquired by his lieutenants, *AULUS PLAUTIUS*, and *VESPASIAN*.—The latter was particularly active in the south-western parts of *England*. The reduction of two powerful nations; the subjugation of the *Isle of Wight*; the capture of twenty towns, and victory in thirty pitched battles, complete the list of his successes here *.

May we not suppose, then, the station *Clausentum* to have been formed by this gallant commander, who was so long and so actively employed in the neighbourhood of this place? May we not suppose it was erected to protect such shipping as attended him in his expedition against the *Isle of Wight*? A tract of land so extensive as this island, which, from the multitude and height of its hills, and other local circumstances, was so well calculated to resist the attacks of an invader, would not probably be the victim of a *single battle*.—Repeated efforts might have been made before its subjection was completed.—Such efforts could not be carried into execution, without the assistance of a *fleet*; and it well became the policy of *VESPASIAN* to secure a place of retreat and safety for this important part of his force, in case of disappointment, or defeat. For this purpose, he could not have pitched upon a spot better calculated than

* Vide *Dion Cass. Hist. lib. LXV.*; *Tacit. Hist. lib. III. c. 44*; *Idem in Vit. Agric. c. 13*; *Suetonius in Vit. Vesp. c. 4*; *Bude's Ecclesiast. Hist. Gen. Anglorum, c. III. p. 27, Edit. Wheloc.*

Itchen river; so contiguous to the scene of action; so secure by its situation, from the elements; and which might be rendered so perfectly safe from the attacks of the enemy, by the easy means of placing a garrison on the peninsula at *Bittern*. Nor can I entertain, in my own mind, any doubt of his having availed himself of these local advantages; but must continue to believe, till I see proofs to the contrary produced, that the earth-works, and fragments of *Roman* architecture, which may be discerned, even now, at this spot, were formed under the direction of VESPASIAN, and may be considered by us as monuments of his military glory.

THE END.



ERRATA.

PAGE.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
4,	17,	<i>Prudentum,</i>	<i>Prudentem.</i>
11,	25,	<i>dejeffis,</i>	<i>adjeffis.</i>
13,	28,	<i>portetua,</i>	<i>perpetua.</i>
13,	1,	<i>bave,</i>	<i>bas.</i>
30,	27,	<i>Brūains,</i>	<i>Britons.</i>

O B S E R V A T I O N S
ON THE
UTILITY OF PROVINCIAL HISTORY;
AND
PROPOSALS *for* Compiling *and* Publishing
THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H A M P S H I R E.

THERE is no department, perhaps, in the whole range of literary composition, that involves more variety and information in it, or is more capable of being converted to the purposes of general utility, than PROVINCIAL HISTORY.

It is indeed true, that the local compilations which have appeared hitherto (with certain valuable exceptions) under the title of *County Histories*, by no means corroborate this assertion; since they are, in general, but dull agglutinations of dry materials, interesting at most to those who live within the confined districts of which they treat.

The abuse, or perversion, however, of a study, by no means implies that it is useless or nugatory. Topographical researches, and local antiquities, may still venture to claim the attention and development of others, tho' in the hands of some they have been unproductive either of instruction or amusement: and, indeed, the present age seems fully aware of the importance of such disquisitions, by the many county, or parochial, histories which have of late years been given to the public, or are at this moment preparing for the press. We no longer think the investigation of topical antiquities, an irksome or unprofitable toil—We see them replete with curious notices of the laws, religion, arts, manners, modes of thinking, prejudices, superstitions, and virtues of our ancestors—

ancestors—We perceive them to be an exhaustless reservoir, from whence continually emerge characters claiming our attention or applause, which, in the extensiveness of general history, had been over-looked and neglected. We discern in them, those minute, but interesting events of domestic life and family anecdotes, which so nicely portray the complexion, manners, and opinions of the times when they occurred—And finally, we mark in them the gradual progress of our forefathers, in the arts of society and civilization; the steps by which they rose from wretchedness, ignorance and barbarism, to comfort, intelligence and refinement: a speculation the most gratifying that can be imagined to an enlightened mind.

Exclusive of these agreeable sources of information, which Provincial History thus unfolds, it has other advantages to recommend its encouragement and pursuit.

The revolutions and *descents* of *Property*, present an ample field of discussion, which is not only interesting in the highest degree to the proprietors of the possessions it notices, but engages the attention of the indifferent person, by the occasional historical and biographical disquisitions with which it is connected; the eccentricities of ancient tenure, which it illustrates; and the obsolete, but curious, local customs it hands down and develops.

National Policy and Natural History, are also promoted and assisted by these topical labors; inasmuch as they enumerate the productions, investigate the soil, describe the different modes of agriculture, and delineate the appearance of the country of which they treat; and bring forward to notice many curious particulars, and beautiful anomalies in Physiology, which may not hitherto have reached the observation of the Naturalist.

If the truth of these observations be admitted (and it cannot be well disallowed,) the following Proposals of adding to the stock of our national topography, by compiling and publishing a History of HAMPSHIRE, may with the greater confidence be submitted to the Public. The Editor, however, does not engage to raise so vast a superstructure on the slender foundation of his own abilities. A large collection of materials amassed to his hands, which he has purchased at a considerable expence, and some valuable Manuscripts that have been obligingly communicated to him, will smooth and reduce the difficulties of the undertaking; while several eminent names in the heraldic, antiquarian, and physiological lines, with that liberality which generally accompanies intellectual excellence, have promised to forward the work by their helps and communications.

Supported by aids and encouragements so important and flattering, the Editor will enter immediately upon the HISTORY of HAMPSHIRE, provided the following PROPOSALS meet the approbation of the Gentlemen of that County.

I. It is proposed, that the intended work be comprised in THREE VOLUMES, QUARTO.

II. That the First Volume be divided into *Two Parts*; the former to contain the Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical History of the County, from the earliest times to the present æra;

in

in which department would be included, a full account of every religious house within the county, to its dissolution. The *latter* part of the same Volume to be occupied by distinct histories of the *Isle of Wight, Winchester, Southampton, and New Forest.*

- III. That the whole of the *Second* Volume, and so much of the *Third* as might be requisite, should contain the History of every *Parish* in *Hampshire*, not treated of in the preceding part of the work, arranged alphabetically. In this department, the History of the *Property* of the *County*, or the descents of its several Manors, and Estates, with notices of such *Possessors* of them as had been remarkable in their time, would be included; as well as genealogical Disquisitions, and biographical Anecdotes of learned, gallant, distinguished, or singular Characters who had flourished in the several districts described. The various *Celtic, Belgic, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman* Antiquities also; together with every curious particular in the Natural History of each Parish; would be here duly attended to.
- IV. That the *latter* part of the *Third* Volume do consist of an APPENDIX, forming a complete *Chartularium Hantonienſe*, or Repository of curious Papers which have a reference to the County of *Hants*; comprehending all such unpublished and original Grants, Charters, Donatory, and other Deeds, authentic Epistolary Correspondence, &c. &c. as should be extracted by the Editor from the public repositories, or come to his hands by private communication. The whole would be properly digested and arranged, and concluded with copious indexes.
- V. That the *Embellishments* of this work do consist of ancient and modern Maps and Surveys of the county; and Views of ancient and modern edifices.—These would all be drawn and engraven at the expence of the Editor, excepting every *private Mansion, and Family Seat*; the plates of which (as is usual in similar instances) he would hope to have transmitted to him, by those who were desirous of having such representations inserted in the work.
- VI. That a list of Subscribers to the work be prefixed to the first volume of it. That every Plate contributed to it, be dedicated to the person who presents the same; and that every private communication be acknowledged in the work, unless this mode of notification be forbidden by the communicator.
- VII. That the Subscription be opened on the 1st of September 1792, and closed the 1st of March 1793; at which period, should the number of subscribers, or copies subscribed for, amount to 300, or upwards, the History of *Hampshire* would be actually commenced.—But should the event prove otherwise, the intended work would be dropped; of which notice would be given to such gentlemen as had honoured the work with their patronage.
- VIII. That the price of a Copy to every subscriber be Six Guineas.
- IX. That if the number of Copies subscribed for amount to Three Hundred, by the 1st of March 1793, each of the subscribers do then pay into the hands of the Editor's

agents, the sum of One Guinea, to enable him to extract the numerous materials relating to *Hampshire* deposited in the collegiate and conventual libraries of *Normandy*, the libraries of the two Universities, the *British Museum*, and the public offices of the realm; to defray the expences of transcribing, delineating, engraving, and printing; and to allow him to corroborate the notices and evidences which he collects from books and MSS. by an *actual survey* and inspection of the places to which they relate.

X. That on the receipt of the First Volume, in boards, the further sum of One Guinea be paid; on the receipt of the Second Volume, the further sum of Two Guineas be paid; and the remainder of the subscription, on the receipt of the *last Volume*.

XI. But as human existence is extremely precarious, as youth and health afford no certain security of its long duration, and the Editor might be prevented by death from completing the History of *Hampshire*, an objection may be expected to arise, on the part of the public, against advancing a sum of money on an undertaking, the accomplishment of which a thousand accidents might frustrate.—In answer to this, the Editor can only engage, that, in case of his decease previous to the execution of the intended work, the whole of his Collections, Manuscripts, Drawings, and Engravings, which have any reference to *Hampshire*, should be committed, *by will*, to the care of the Mayor and Coporation of *Lymington*, in trust, to be delivered by them to any person or persons who would engage to continue and finish the work.

It is scarcely possible to speak decisively as to the periods when the different volumes of the HISTORY OF HAMPSHIRE might respectively appear; but as considerable collections for the purpose are already in the hands of the Editor, he has reason to hope, that, with the important assistance of his literary friends, and the liberal communications of the Gentlemen of the county, he might be enabled to produce the First Volume in the course of Four Years, and complete the whole in Nine or Ten.



